



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

State **Society** and **Governance** *in* **Melanesia**

DISCUSSION PAPER

ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: BUILDING ROADS AND BRIDGES

Discussion
Paper 00/4

INTRODUCTION

This paper draws on the author's recent experiences as Environmental and Social Specialist on an ADB road upgrading and maintenance project in four provinces along the Highlands Highway,¹ as well as reports on numerous recent and ongoing road projects in several parts of the country. The emphasis is on the Highlands region, but all the evidence indicates that the issues canvassed here apply throughout Papua New Guinea.

By and large villagers, townspeople, businessmen, bureaucrats and politicians throughout Papua New Guinea are keen to see new roads built and existing roads improved, or at least maintained properly. Despite this enthusiasm for roads, for a host of reasons broached in this paper it is becoming increasingly difficult to implement road and bridge construction and improvement works throughout the country.

The issues are broadly those of governance, which, following UNDP (1997) I take to mean:

'the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions

through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations and mediate their differences'.

In the case of roads, the current situation is far from one of 'good governance', as the ability of the state to exercise its functions of facilitating road development fairly and effectively has been severely compromised in recent years. At the same time, and partly as a response to the 'power vacuum' left by the state, the citizens (in this case the traditional owners of the lands on which the roads and bridges are built) are becoming evermore forceful in asserting their rights with respect to land acquisition and compensation. The result of the burgeoning problems associated with these land acquisition and compensation issues is that road and bridge projects are suffering longer delays and increased costs.

ROAD USERS

Rural communities throughout PNG have two options for local land transport of people and goods: road transport (where there is a road network), or by walking and carrying

PHILIP
HUGHES

*Resource
Management in
Asia Pacific
Project*

*Research School
of Pacific and
Asian Studies*

*The Australian
National
University*

The contribution of AusAID to this series is acknowledged with appreciation.

their goods. Walking is the only option for most in the more remote parts of PNG. There is virtually no use of domesticated animals such as horses, cattle or oxen to transport people or goods. Understandably, most communities are enthusiastic about road development.

The population of PNG is predominantly rural (about 85%) and the government since the late 1970s has focussed attention on programs to improve the quality of rural life. In the case of the Highlands region, an overall objective has been to connect widely scattered pockets of population in order to facilitate the marketing of agricultural produce and exportable crops such as coffee, thereby switching agriculture from solely subsistence level to one containing an income earning activity. The expectation has been that the linking of population centres would also have the effect of fostering a sense of nationhood in a region of several hundred tribal groupings and languages, contributing to more efficient administration and delivery of government health, education and agricultural extension services. Similar sentiments have been expressed in support of road developments throughout the country.

The experience of road construction, upgrading and maintenance projects throughout the country, including the Highlands, has been that local people whose road access to towns is improved overwhelmingly perceive that such projects are beneficial to them. The major social and economic impacts on local populations (which were mainly positive) occurred when roads were first constructed. Subsequent road improvements generally have had very much reduced beneficial impacts, unless accompanied by wider social infrastructural investment and technical transfer (which has seldom been the case).

It is important to distinguish between main highways such as the Highlands Highway (which are generally national highways), and smaller 'feeder' roads (which include both national and provincial roads). Feeder roads service mainly rural communities whose livelihood is based on subsistence agriculture, with limited cash income derived from the sale of garden produce in markets and cash crops such as coffee. Main highways also service subsistence-based communities, but in addition they service a very much larger and diverse and widely distributed target population which includes the residents of the major towns, a high proportion of whom are wage-earners and business people, major rural economic

enterprises such as mining and petroleum projects (e.g. the Porgera gold mine and Kutubu oil and gas projects), large-scale commercial plantations (mainly coffee and some tea in the Highlands) and producers of semi-commercially grown vegetables for sale in the major towns and cities.

LAND ACQUISITION AND COMPENSATION

Context

All resource development and infrastructure projects in PNG, including road projects, are requiring increasingly complex negotiations with landholders over land acquisition, compensation and royalties in order for their implementation (and often operation) to proceed cost-effectively and on time. The need to relocate buildings and resettle people may also eventuate. Mining and oil/gas, and to a lesser extent forestry projects, have required the negotiation of particularly complex agreements which, once signed, are subject to a continuous process of re-negotiation. These negotiated agreements have covered associated infrastructure such as road, electricity transmission lines and telecommunications sites. Precedents have been set by these major, wealth-generating resources projects which are now influencing negotiations over infrastructure projects such as roads.

Recent developments in compensation for resource development in PNG are analysed in detail in Toft (1997a). The socio-cultural-political contexts discussed in depth in the various papers in Toft (1997a) and the trends in compensation claims and negotiation described and analysed in them have direct relevance to road construction and improvement projects (see also Rivers 1999).

It is the policy and practice of all international donor and lending agencies to require the government of Papua New Guinea to acquire title to the land needed for the project (and to pay associated land purchase and compensation costs) before the funds are released.

The need to acquire land does not apply only to new roads. Except for the Highlands Highway, most of the roads in the Highlands (and indeed elsewhere in the country) are on customary land, i.e. the rights of way have never been acquired by the government. Even where the land has been acquired, sealing an

unsealed road may involve alignment changes and drainage improvements which impinge upon customary land adjacent to the road.

Recent experience reviewed below indicates that where road upgrading projects will involve road widening and realignment, land acquisition will be required, including the existing right of way if this is still on customary land.

However for rehabilitation and maintenance projects where works will be confined to the existing right of way, land acquisition is not necessary for works to proceed.

Delays and cost over-runs in road projects caused by problems in land acquisition and compensation in the Highlands had already become apparent in the 1980s, as acknowledged by the World Bank (1993) which identified such problems as one of five major issues that were apparent during project appraisal. In their draft Project Implementation Document (PID) for the Mendi to Kisenepoi Highlands Highway upgrading project, AusAID (1995) addressed the issues of customary land acquisition, crop compensation and gravel pit royalties at length. Some of the issues they raised and my comments on their current implications are presented here as they are even more pertinent now than they were in 1995, as detailed below.

- As customary land acquisition was causing delays and cost escalations through disputes, the Mendi to Kisenepoi Highway upgrading project was designed to minimise these by confining the works to the existing acquired road alignments and using existing gravel pits and quarries wherever possible.

Comment: The potential for delays and cost escalations are greatly increased where the existing road alignment is on customary land, even if this is not to be acquired. The risks and uncertainty are even greater where there is a requirement that this land be acquired before works proceed.

- While the responsibility for, and all costs involved with, land acquisition lies firmly with the government through the Department of Works (DoW) and the Department of Land (DoL), any delays in the identification of land owners and paying purchase costs are likely to be disruptive to the project. The PID stated that the capacity of the national government to secure funds for land acquisition (both the costs of carrying out

the investigations and funds for payments to land owners) remained in doubt.

Comment: Since 1995 the government departments responsible have suffered severe ongoing decreases in funding and personnel, and this has diminished even further their capacity to carry out the investigations required and to make the agreed payments.

- The experience in the Mendi area was that conflicts were exacerbated when there were protracted delays between the finalisation of purchase documents and the disbursement of funds to land owners. Similarly, delays between land procurement and construction may cause local clan members to dispute the original purchase of the land. Such disputes usually can be resolved through negotiation/mediation and when documentary evidence of purchase is produced.

Comment: These problems have been demonstrated to occur widely throughout PNG, with the worrying additional factor that the records for other than recent land acquisitions by DoL and DoW are in a chaotic state, such that in some cases the government might have difficulty in providing documentary evidence of ownership were such ownership to be challenged during later negotiations or in the courts.

- Similar issues to those raised in Points 1-3 above applied to the payment of compensation on the Mendi project for loss of crops, trees and physical improvements, which again was theoretically the sole responsibility of government. The PID pointed out that establishing ownership of crops and individual trees is more difficult than identifying the owners of the land as there will be many more people involved, and rights to use land may be held by individuals or groups who are different from the land owners.

Land and Leadership in PNG

Toft (1997b) has described in detail the nature between land and leadership in PNG and its implications for land rent, compensation and royalty payments in relation to development projects. Rivers (1999) addressed a similar range

of issues in his discussion of the relationships between resource development companies and land-owning communities. This brief summary is condensed from Toft (1997b).

PNG societies are virtually all egalitarian. Hence in most communities (particularly those in the Highlands), there is no 'chief' or even a single village leader who can speak for the community as a whole. Social structure is tied to genealogy: members of an ethnic group trace their descent from a common ancestor. The diverging lines of descent from that ancestor are represented as clans, sub-clans and lineages down to extended families. Leaders of the society at all levels emerge through achieving success in the competitive acquisition of status, according to traditional values. Today this often translates into success as a politician or businessman. An important aspect of traditional leadership is that, having acquired wealth, a person gained prestige by sharing it (i.e. distributing it), rather than holding it. The nature of the leadership system is such that it was (and still is) always open to challenge and changing alliances; it was a fluid system of equal opportunity. The outcome is that political control is represented by a changing balance of power between equals, from the grassroots up, on both an individual level, leader to leader, and group leader, clan to clan.

Land ownership is vested in descent groups, with specific territorial areas being, like people, subdivided on descent lines. All clan members are co-land owners. This gives individuals the right to use but not alienate land. Thus, land ownership is part of the identity of the group. It is an unalienable right, passed from the ancestors into the guardianship of successive generations.

Today traditional owners find that others seek their property for various uses such as mining and road building. The property is alienated in a way which at least removes it from previous personal use, and at worst destroys it. The property is usually changed so that it can never be used for its original state or revert to customary use.

The Land Act stipulates that only the government may deal in land. Procedures for government acquisition are under review; in general freehold title remains (and will continue to remain) with the traditional land owners and the government will hold the lease (*Land Act*, Chapter No. 185, Revised Laws of Papua New Guinea 1996).

Given the fluid nature of some aspects of social structure it is sometimes difficult to determine who are the appropriate land owners and leaders to negotiate with over land issues. Traditional leaders head kin groups whose membership they cannot change; they can only strive constantly for consensus on both an inter- and intra-group level. Depending on the circumstances, including the scale of the project, outsiders (often provincial or national politicians) may try to assert a leadership role in the negotiations. The outcome is that in every road project there are continuous disputes, often major and sometimes violent, over which families are the rightful owners of the land in question. The same issues apply when trying to determine not only the rightful recipients of royalties for materials extracted from the gravel pits but also the appropriate local people to be engaged to work on the road works. Disputation is usually within clans and not between clans, as clan boundaries are usually reasonably well defined.

Land Acquisition and Compensation Processes and Issues

New road construction works require the acquisition by Government of land for the road right of way (40 m wide for major National roads, 20 m wide for other roads) and, depending on the circumstances, land for quarry sites. Royalties will be payable for gravel and fill extracted from quarries and river/stream beds. Compensation will be payable for loss of garden plots, garden crops, a wide range of commercial trees, as well as physical improvements such as buildings.

Where road upgrading and maintenance projects occur along rights of way which have already been acquired by government, they will have much lower if any requirements for land, and such land which is needed will be for road widening and straightening, road drains, culverts and additional quarries or river gravel sources. Royalties will be payable for extracted gravel and fill. There is a growing practice, especially in the Highlands, for people to plant crops on the roadside in existing rights of way, and then to claim compensation for their eventual destruction.

It is very difficult to determine with complete certainty which existing road rights of way have been acquired by the government and which are still in customary ownership. The land registration records in both the Department of Lands (DoL) in Port Moresby

and in the provincial capitals are in a very poor state. The DoL in Port Moresby has shifted office several times in recent years and in the course of these shifts records have been wrongly filed, mislaid and lost. There is no centralised computer-based record of land registration. The situation in the provinces is even worse, particularly in Western Highlands and Enga provinces where virtually all provincial records were destroyed when the provincial headquarters were burnt down during various riots in recent years (the provincial headquarters in Enga province have been burnt down several times).

In the 1950s and 1960s the colonial authorities alienated numerous large tracts of apparently unoccupied swampland and grassland to establish tea and coffee plantations, rural resettlement schemes, cattle stations and some schools and other facilities. On such land parts of some of the roads designated as being on customary land are probably in fact on land alienated in this way, i.e. they have already been acquired, although there is no record specifically relating to those roads.

Even where road improvement projects will be confined largely to road easements previously acquired by the government, there are an increasing number of reports of demands being made for further payments for the land in the rights of way, based on assertions such as 'the original price was too low', 'the money was paid to the wrong families', 'the purchase was not made in accordance with customary law', or 'the elders who agreed to the sale had no right to dispose of the birthright of future generations'. So far such claims have been mainly of a nuisance value and most have been successfully resolved by negotiation.

They can have more serious impacts, as for example with AusAID-funded bridge works on the Tuman and Kumon rivers on the Highlands Highway near Mt Hagen where prolonged negotiations over such issues have been fruitless and a periodic police presence has been established on the sites to allow the construction works to proceed without direct hindrance from local disgruntled villagers.

The acquired land is assessed on its 'unimproved value', i.e. not including improvements such as the value of economic trees and plants growing on the land. The Valuer General prepared an Economic Trees and Plant Price Schedule dated 1 January 1995 setting out the prices of plantings for acquisition purposes. This 1995 schedule,

which is apparently still being used on road projects, sets out compensation rates to be paid for a wide range of garden crops, food trees and timber trees.

An updated schedule was released in 1998, but this contains inconsistencies that will make its use highly problematic in some circumstances.

Land acquisition

The DoW Survey and Lands Branch is responsible for land acquisition for roads. The steps in undertaking land acquisition are as follows:

- Once the road design has been completed a survey is commissioned by DoW to determine the boundaries of the land required and the exact location, sizes and areas of customary land which must be acquired. Technically, the DoW should submit a formal land application to the National DoL which then issues a Survey Instruction. In practice, a survey is usually commissioned without the seeking of a Survey Instruction.
- Once the survey is complete, the implementing agency (in this case DoW) then requests in writing that the DoL issue a Land Investigation Instruction Number (LIIN) to the District Lands Officer (DLO), who is based in District Services in the province (referred to here as the Provincial DoL). There is normally one DLO in each District Office.
- Once the LIIN has been issued the DLO undertakes the necessary field investigations and consultation with the relevant communities and prepares a Land Investigation Report (LIR) into the customary ownership of the subject land. The LIR may also include an assessment of the value of the 'improvements' to the land prepared in accordance with the Economic Trees and Plant Price Schedule. The LIR is sent to the Provincial Administrator (PA) for his/her signature. In preparing the LIR the DLO would normally work closely with the Provincial Office of Works (OoW) staff, with the Lands Office staff involved sometimes based in OoW.
- The report once signed by the PA is sent to the Valuer General's Office (in the National DoL) for price value assessments. A copy is sent to the Provincial DL

for Certificates of Alienability (COAs) to be issued in relation to land acquisition. The COAs are signed by the Secretary for Provincial Affairs.

- Both the valuations for the land and the COAs are sent to the implementing agencies, i.e. DoW. Cheques are raised by the DoW Design Division (of which the Survey and Lands Branch is a part) based on the land valuations, and purchase documents are prepared and forwarded to the Secretary of the National DL for his/her signature.
- The signed purchase documents, together with the cheques, are sent to the Provincial Administrator for execution and payment to the land owners. The executed documents are then returned to the National DoL for Registration of Native Land Dealings.

If the land acquisition process is straightforward, then Step 1 (survey) commonly takes 1-4 months and Steps 2-6 a minimum of 5 months, and more generally at least 8 months.

If, as is usually the case, there are disputes over who are the customary owners of the land, the process takes much longer. In these cases a disputes resolution process is undertaken under the *Land Disputes Settlement Act*, Chapter No. 45, 1975 which has the following steps.

- Step 1 – Local Land Mediation. The DLO brings together the disputing parties with a mediator in order to try and resolve the ownership issues. The mediator may be the Local Lands Court Magistrate (LLCM), a Village Magistrate, a Local Councillor or another senior person of good standing with the litigants. District Services in some provinces employ Land Mediators. If this fails:
- Step 2 – Local Land Court. The case is heard before the LLCM for determination. If those litigants who were not successful desire, they can appeal to a higher court.
- Step 3 – District Land Court. The case is heard before a District Land Court Magistrate, whose decision is final.

Before the Local Land Court can function under the *Land Disputes Settlement Act*, the province must have appointed a Provincial Land Disputes Board and published the appointment of its members in the National Gazette.

This Board must then have determined and declared Land Mediation Areas (once again by notice in the National Gazette), appointed Land Mediators to these areas and approved the appointment of Local Court Magistrates to the Local Land Courts. The decisions of the Local Land Court are subject to appeal for up to one year. The machinery for resolving land disputes is cumbersome.

The road project may be put on hold until all parties have accepted the decision, or every avenue of appeal is exhausted. The Officer-in-Charge of the Land Acquisition Unit of DoTWCA reports that these cases can take more than 1 year and sometimes 5-10 years to be settled. This has been confirmed by both Lands Officers in the provinces and districts, and by agency-funded road projects staff. The average length of time is now about 3 years. The process definitely is rapidly becoming more complex with increased disputation within clans and with consequent major delays in settling land and compensation issues.

A serious implication of such delays is that as loans are normally for 3-5 years, the PNG government may not be able to expend some or all of the loan funds in the specified period.

Compensation for improvements

Compensation is paid only for improvements which will be destroyed by the proposed road construction works. Within DoTWCA, the Operations Division is responsible for commissioning the necessary compensation investigations to be undertaken by relevant staff from DoW, the DoL, the Provincial Administrations and District Services. Compensation is normally assessed about 3 months before construction work is due to commence, with a view to the compensation cheques being raised and paid to the land owners shortly before construction works begin. Valuations are supposed to be based on the Valuer General's Economic Trees and Plant Price Schedule, but increasingly payment agreements are reached which are outside the values set by the Schedule. Compensation payments for physical improvements such as houses or trade stores are normally determined by negotiation. The valuations and associated negotiations with land owners are undertaken by DLOs, other District Services Officers or valuers from the Valuer General's Office.

Disputes over compensation normally can be resolved by mediation. Where this is not effective, the complainants have recourse to the Local and District Lands Courts.

Constraints to the process

Because the various government departments involved in the land acquisition and compensation processes (National and Provincial DoL and the Land Courts) are understaffed and very poorly resourced and funded, they are unable to undertake the necessary tasks without assistance from the managing contractors of road projects. In order to expedite the process, the road projects have had to fund some or all travel, vehicle hire and accommodation costs of the government staff, as well as pay fees to non-government mediators.

The deteriorating situation is being compounded by uncertainties created by department restructuring at the national and provincial level and associated planned staff redundancies and cut-backs in funding. For example, as of mid 1999 the Valuer General's Office had only four valuers to cover all five Highlands provinces (three based in Goroka and one in Mt Hagen).

All government staff involved in the land acquisition/compensation process for roads, along with road construction contractors, stated that it is very important that the construction works take place as soon as possible after the settlements have been reached and payments made. Any delay beyond about 2-3 months will result in further compensation demands by, for example, people who claim to have been wrongly excluded from the original negotiations (perhaps because they were living elsewhere at the time), or for newly planted crops or trees the original land owners (or others) have since planted in the acquired right of way. The longer the delay, the greater the demands. An excellent example in the Western Highlands Province is the 9.2 km Ogelbeng-Ambra section of the Ogelbeng-Kotna-Banz road. Acquisition of and payments for this section of the road were reported to have been completed about 12 months ago, but along several parts of it there are already extensive plantings of garden crops and commercial pineapple fields right to the edge of the existing road. District Services staff expect that if and when road upgrading work takes place there will be another round of compensation demands.

The people who take these kinds of actions and make these kinds of demands (including those who were the original land owners) are technically squatters whose rights with respect to further compensation for land and improvements legally were probably extinguished once the acquisition and

compensation process had been completed. There do not appear to be well established procedures in rural areas for addressing this issue.

Delays of months or even years in payments for land acquisition and compensation are common. In the Highlands land owners are increasingly reluctant to allow construction works to proceed until the requisite payments have been made.

Costs

The typical range of costs for land acquisition, compensation, as well as the survey and preparation of Land Investigation Reports, is summarised in the table below. Prices paid for the acquisition of land for roads are relatively readily available, but data on compensation paid in accordance with the Valuer General's schedule for economic trees and plants has been more difficult to obtain. Department of Lands staff report that on some PNG-funded projects (including roads) requiring land acquisition and compensation for improvements, where villagers have insisted on evaluation prices, the Minister and/or the Departmental Secretary can use their discretion to make above valuation payments, but these are not noted on the purchase documents.

	Average cost (K/km)	Range of costs (K/km)
Survey	6,000	
Land Investigation Report	3,000	
Land acquisition		
<i>Productive land</i>	20,000	1,000 - 30,000
<i>Unproductive land</i>	8,000	500 - 15,000
Compensation	25,000	8,000 - 80,000
Total cost		
<i>Productive land</i>	54,000	
<i>Unproductive land</i>	42,000	

The Valuer General's Officers, working closely with other sections in the Department of Lands, DoTWCA, OoW and provincial and district authorities, have so far been able to restrict payments for land within the price range shown in the table. However, pressures from affected land owners for higher prices are steadily increasing, especially in the Highlands where there is widespread knowledge about the higher prices paid by mining companies for land. For example, Burton (1997) reported that in

1992 at the Porgera gold mine in Enga Province K520,000 was paid for the loss of 40 ha of forested land required for a waste dump, i.e. K13,000/ha (Burton 1997).

Not all land owners demand or receive payments for land required for road projects. In 1996/1997 a senior politician in the Western Highlands implemented projects to upgrade and seal existing roads on customary land without the land being acquired by the government and without any compensation payments being made. District Service staff in the Western Highlands Province reported that in 1996 villagers along the 4.5 km local road between Angalimp and Kurki requested that OoW upgrade their road, the work subsequently being carried out with no acquisition of customary land and no compensation being requested or paid. Such cases are however uncommon.

Another common practice in the past has been for works to commence after land acquisition and compensation settlements have been reached, but before the monies are paid out. The delays in payment often extend for several years and as further 'compensation' an occupation fee is negotiated and paid. Land owners are becoming increasingly intolerant of this practice by the overnment and are insisting on payment before work commences.

In general, cost seems to be a much less serious issue than the time it takes to reach settlements for land acquisition and compensation.

AusAID (1995) estimated in the Mendi to Kisenepoi highway upgrading project that compensation for crops, trees and improvements along the 63 km of road could total K3 million, i.e. K50,000/km. In the event K1.8 million was paid along the 30 km of road to be upgraded, i.e. K60,000/km. On the 30 km long section of highway to be upgraded in the Wapenamunda to Wabag project in Enga Province, a total of about K2.5 million has been paid by the government for compensation, i.e. K83,000/km.

In the case of the ongoing Highlands Highway to Okapa road upgrading project in the Eastern Highlands Province being funded under ADB Loans 1153 and 1154: PNG, about K3,000/km has been paid, i.e. 20 to 30 times less than for recent roads in Southern Highlands and Enga Provinces. A partial explanation for the difference is that the Mendi and Wabag roads are major highway upgrades within a 40 m wide corridor, whereas the Okapa Road is a much smaller scale upgrade within a 20 m wide corridor. However, from

discussions with staff on these projects it is evident that land owners along the Mendi and Wabag roads claimed very much higher amounts of compensation and were very much more forceful in pursuing their claims than land owners along the Okapa road.

The determination of compensation payments is normally made by District Services staff, including the DLOs. Valuer General's Office staff in the Highlands report that there is mounting evidence of irregularities in the process, especially exaggeration in the amounts to be paid and payments to 'phantom' (i.e. non-existent) claimants. Because of this, the Valuer General's Office is increasingly undertaking the field assessments for compensation payments itself, with the District Office staff undertaking the initial identification of claimants.

CONCLUSIONS

In the immediate to long term the state's ability to exercise its functions in this area must be improved dramatically. This undoubtedly would require a suite of major interrelated administrative and legislative reforms, consideration of which is beyond the scope of this paper. These reforms should include improved procedures by government at all levels to ensure better communication between governments and the affected landowner communities. In reality, in the present economic, political and social climate in PNG it is unlikely that there will be a rapid change in the situation.

Given this, then, in the short term funding agencies and managing contractors will need to provide staff and financial and material resources to an even greater extent than is currently the case to assist government personnel undertake the myriad of necessary tasks to ensure the timely settlement of land acquisition and crop compensations matters. Major road projects will need to establish for the duration of the project community liaison teams analogous to those established for mining projects. As well as facilitating land investigation and acquisition and associated compensation negotiations, the teams would undertake or assist with community information programmes (in *Tok Pisin* or *Tok Ples*), addressing women's issues, including employment planning, implementation and monitoring, small business activities, road safety planning, and environmental management and monitoring.

REFERENCES

- UNDP (1997) *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*. UNDP Policy Document, New York, January 1997.
- AusAID (1995) Australia – Papua New Guinea Development Cooperation Project Highlands Highway Upgrading Project. Mendi to Kisenepoi. Draft Project Implementation Document, Canberra, December 1995.
- Burton, J. (1997) The principles of compensation in the mining industry. In Toft, S. (ed) *Compensation for resource development in Papua New Guinea*. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea Monograph No. 8, pp. 116-136
- Rivers, J. (1999) *Formulating Basic Policy for Community Relations Programs*. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper No. 99/1. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University, Canberra.
- Toft, S. (Sed.) (1997a) *Compensation for resource development in Papua New Guinea*. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea Monograph No. 8.
- Toft, S. (1997b) Patrons or clients? Aspects of multinational capital – landowner relations in Papua New Guinea. In Toft, S. (ed) *Compensation for resource development in Papua New Guinea*. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea Monograph No. 8, pp. 10-22.
- World Bank (1993) Project Completion Report. Independent State of Papua New Guinea. Road Improvement Project (Loan 2265-PNG), December 1993.

NOTES

- ¹ ADB TA No. 3037: PNG Road Upgrading and Maintenance Project 1999. Undertaken by Egis Consulting Australia Pty Ltd for the Asian Development Bank and the PNG Department of Transport, Works and Civil Aviation.



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

State, Society and Governance in Melanesia

The State, Society and Governance in Melanesia (SSGM) Project was launched in 1996 in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. Funded by the ANU with financial assistance from the Australian Government through AusAID, it comprises three Fellows (Dr Bronwen Douglas, Mr Anthony Regan and Dr Sinclair Dinnen), a Convenor (Mr David Hegarty, on secondment from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade) and an Administrator (Ms Monica Wehner).

SSGM Discussion Paper Series

- 96/1: Peter Larmour, *Research on Governance in Weak States in Melanesia*
96/2: Peter Larmour, *Models of Governance and Development Administration*
96/3: David Ambrose, *A Coup that Failed? Recent Political Events in Vanuatu*
97/1: Sinclair Dinnen, *Law, Order and State in Papua New Guinea*
97/2: Tomasi Vakatora, *Traditional Culture and Modern Politics*
97/3: 'I Futa Helu, *Tradition and Good Governance*
97/4: Stephanie Lawson, *Cultural Traditions and Identity Politics: Some Implications for Democratic Governance in Asia and the Pacific*
97/5: Peter Larmour, *Corruption and Governance in the South Pacific*
97/6: Satish Chand, *Ethnic Conflict, Income Inequity and Growth in Independent Fiji*
97/7: Sam Alasia, *Party Politics and Government in Solomon Islands*
97/8: Penelope Schoeffel, *Myths of Community Management: Sustainability, the State and Rural Development in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu*
97/9: Philip Tepahae, *Chiefly Power in Southern Vanuatu*
98/1: John Haglegam, *Traditional Leaders and Governance in Melanesia*
98/2: Binayak Ray, *Good Governance, Administrative Reform and Socioeconomic Realities: A South Pacific Perspective*
98/3: Eric Wittersheim, *Melanesia Élites and Modern Politics in New Caledonia and Vanuatu*
98/4: Bronwen Douglas, Sinclair Dinnen and Anthony J. Regan, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project: Review 1995-98*
98/5: Peter Larmour, *Making Sense of Good Governance*
98/6: Bronwen Douglas, *Traditional Individuals? Gendered Negotiations of Identity, Christianity and Citizenship in Vanuatu*
98/7: Raymond Apthorpe, *Bougainville Reconstruction Aid: What are the Issues?*
99/1: John Rivers, *Formulating Policy for Community Relations Programs*
99/2: Lissant Bolton, *Chief Willie Bongmatur Maldo and the Incorporation of Chiefs in the Vanuatu State*
99/3: Eugene Ogan, *The Bougainville Conflict: Perspectives from Nasioi*
99/4: Grace Molisa and Elise Huffer, *Governance in Vanuatu: In Search of the Nakamal Way*
00/1: Peter Larmour, *Issues and Mechanisms of Accountability: Examples from Solomon Islands*
00/2: Bronwen Douglas (ed), *Women and Governance from the Grassroots in Melanesia*
00/3: Bronwen Douglas, *Weak States and Other Nationalisms: Emerging Melanesian Paradigms?*
00/4: Philip Hughes, *Issues of Governance in Papua New Guinea: Building Roads and Bridges*
00/5: KJ Crossland, *The Ombudsman Role: Vanuatu's Experiment*
00/6: Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, *Beyond Ethnicity: The Political Economy of the Guadalcanal Crisis in Solomon Islands*

State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
AUSTRALIA

Convenor: David Hegarty

Telephone: +61 2 6249 4145

Fax: +61 2 6249 5525

Email: dhegarty@coombs.anu.edu.au

Administrator: Monica Wehner

Telephone: +61 2 6279 8394

Fax: +61 2 6249 5525

Email: ssgm@coombs.anu.edu.au

<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia>